[For information on the sherif (shorfa) nobles who are descendants of the Prophet, see Category 554.]

792 Shluh MW11

[For information on "saints", see Category 776.]

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 101 634 619 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws, Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by the ikhs of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 101 634 [139] The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

798 [792] Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[796] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[792] Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pasture-land between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

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[166]

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.

/65/

Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.	
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous. [166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin. [792] [166]

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 175 726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

175 539 726 619 "The 9 ṣafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

• [792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52, l. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

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security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

> 1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur. This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

> 2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

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776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., n. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûnî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
[619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

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/274 cont./
ritual styles. In the case of the allegiance to the Nâçirî of Tamgrût (2),

2. On the zaouia and the brotherhood, the best study, and the most recent one, is that of G. Drague, Aperçu sur l'histoire religieuse du Maroc /Survey of the religious history of Morocco/, 1950, pp. 185 sq.

their opposition is lighted up, for on the one side the ample radiance of this zaouia is almost entirely identified with confreric affiliation, that is, tends toward individual rather than collective adherence, toward initiatory option rather than the tie of the ground, toward esoterism rather than communal publicity. But these definitions of the Maghrebi confrerism, to the hazardous measure where they go beyond maraboutism, are more ideal than real (3).

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3. Moreover they have been rather the business of the Algerian school: Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, Aug. Berque. The "marabout" is not always opposed to the "brotherhood." The case of the Algerian Rah'mâniyya is the most typical in this regard.

In the case of Sidi Ah'med u Musa (4),

4. Cf. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Ar. mar., 1933, pp. 5 sq., model of direct, precise, and sensible investigation.

the patron of the Tazerwalt, more of confreric cadre: the allegiance is no less strong, the itineraries vast, the figures vivid.

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arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irrigation, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that today the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

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175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 (114)

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/298 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ 1197. He went to study at Fès /Fez/ under the direction of ad-Daqqâq, who taught there at the time of the great Moroccan mystics H'irzihim (d. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (d. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Ya^{c}za (d. 1177). On this period, A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan and his master ad-Daqqâq at Fès, Mélanges R. Basset, t. I, pp. 31 sq., and bibliography, ibid., p. 32, n. 1. It is to be noted that H'irzihim and Abû Madhyân were partisans of the Ih'yâ' of Ghazzâli, like Ibn Toumert himself. The preceding generation of Moroccan mystics knew Ibn al-^{c}Arif, d. at Marrakech in 1141 (Bel, op. laud., p. 59, n. 1).

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What historical precision! ^{c}Âmir al-Hintâtî is a well-known personage, a friend of Ibn al-Khat'îb, and who will die dramatically. ^{c}Abd Allah, more commonly called "the Saksîwî," is equally historic. Lalla Aziza emerges from this text with very lifelike traits. Let us list them. A role of "resister" in the Maçmûdian siba against the Mérinides. The quite Mussulman modesty of her deportment, a trait of proselytism that doubtlessly should be related to the definitive Arabization of her name, or perhaps only to the viewpoint of the witness. A vocation as conciliator between groups or fractions, a role that she shares with a great number of legendary personages of the South. What one can glimpse of a division of the population into groups, each organizing the two sexes separately on the occasion of rites or fixed social functions. Finally, synthesizing the whole, a national figure, protectress of the mountain against the plain.

The windfall of this testimony, which there is no reason to hold suspect, and which, besides, is authorized by a certain number of cross-checks, achieves out of the historic precision a part

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa [489] villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Abdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its [666] support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, [631] at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

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776 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

776 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4 villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Châib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

794 [634] [792] This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

[592] One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

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771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 182 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individual forms. This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. 792 Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

792 /313 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ labor, this role of avant-garde immediately furnishes a genealogical fiction. This links the collectivity thus marked to an ancestor saint or else to the Prophet. This is the very type of these corporations in confraternities by reason of an ancestor for which Durkheim clearly noted the characteristics of a form of transition. It expresses the "mixture of the rising professional organization with the pre-existent familial organization" (G. Davy, Eléments de sociologie, I: Sociologie politique, 1950, p. 115). But sometimes the fiction is unnecessary: the status is created by auto-affirmation, one might say. One thinks of the Touareg /Tuareg/ tribes described by the Cdt Cauvet and who, by their simple attestation, come to be considered as marabouts (H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, p. 163). In the Moroccan case, that of the Ud Besseba[c], for example, an intellectualist milieu furnishes forthwith the collective pretension of pedantic reasoning: the sherifian revendication enters the category of the pseudo-historical classifications that have played such an important role in the Maghrebi past.

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792 Pretty much as the corporation of rural or urban artisans constitutes in the economic life an intermediate stage between the tribal qualification and the profession.

Let us study a concrete case, that of the a. Wammern, descendants of sidi Mh'and.

[534] Their moqaddem joins to his hagiological functions and to his knowledge of some impressive tricks (playing dead, for

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792 [534] example) the talent of a tambourin player. He is an assistant greatly in demand for all the choruses and dances in this part of the mountains.

Around him a legion of cousins agitates, avid for their part of the benefice and not falling back before the cunning or /314/ violent competition. Beyond the "portable" offering that comes [794] at the time of the tighersiwin, or at the time of the payment of particular cens, there are contingent ones, or those "paid on application," which so-and-so of the rightful claimants goes to seek, taking his chances, from tribe to tribe. This quest is not exclusive of either harsh disputes or sometimes of trickery. Such an agurram carries off the share of the legitimate devolutionary. [691] That ends in proceedings under the compliant eye of the temporal chiefs or of the jemâa.

No particular dignity, no hypocrisy characterize these com- [778] portments. Titularies by inheritance of a parcel of the "benefic emanation," or baraka, and, correlatively, of a portion of the cens or fees owed the saint, his descendants exploit it with a naïve impudence, in which the good people are not far from recognizing a trait of this simplicity in the passions which is so compatible with the profession of the sacred.

Like the ig^{w}rramen of Assttif, and even more than them, those of Ammern help in understanding the peculiarity of life resulting from a "maraboutic" origin. No moral judgment, no notion of merit is mixed with their prestige. They can be quarrelsome, greedy, or debauched, like any of their neighbors. Less absorption in field work, a diet with more meat, resulting from so many sacrificial offerings, a physical selection testifying to more experience, and more taste, in the choice of wines, differentiate them physically from the profane. Also more freedom in their ways, due to the traditional fiscal exemptions, tawqîr, and to fewer inhibitions. The agurram is one who lives [778] fully. Nature is allowed to speak in him, even in the form of the most unbridled of appetites, or of incoherence, for this nature is itself bearer of baraka. One seeks in it a sort of

/314 cont./

792 complicity with the heavens, a complicity that is bought with many indulgences or even at the price of money. Ethnology has made us familar with these incarnations, or these collusions: even though an Islamism that is never wanting, perhaps because it corresponds in the case at hand to a very keen critical sense, acknowledges for the agurram divine favor or gratification, but by no means association with the divine.

Not the slightest nuance of this famous "anthropolâtrie berbère" /Berber anthropolatry/ with which certain ethnologists rather indiscreetly regale themselves! And even, what is striking in the milieu, that all the consequences are drawn from such privilege, without the slightest ethical nuance being mixed up in [577] it. To each his role. The good believer strives for virtue. The marabout enjoys baraka and, accordingly, may make his entire life a feast or carnival: without reproach, he can be the fully natural man. One could say of /315/ him, parodying Nietzsche's phrase, that he has the right to be "the hottest of hot monsters" /Fr. le plus chaud des monstres chauds/.

792 781 The attitude of the faithful with regard to him is very clear here: attentive and somewhat interested service, tender or secretly envious devotion, but realistic judgment, complete [778] moral independence. The baraka is revered, and, still better, "served," but strictly encompassed in a system of division of labor in which the marabout does not overstep the function imparted to him by belief and the mores. Consigned to his function, his exemptions, his exceptions, he must leave space, for the rest, for the civil order.

Men of God

792 Let us go on to more individualized types.

First the doctor. Our collection of the psychological paradoxes of the ground would not be complete if one did not mention at this place a learned citizen who left the montagnard sanctuary and hid from Z'init'. In Marrakech, moreover, he

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I'lâm registers him (1).

1. ʿAbbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-I'lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor, [181] [693] a great one in jurisprudence (2).

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlâs, a Suktânî, a ʿAbbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 794 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

/318 cont./

name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

And here is one manifestation among others:

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqilf of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Amer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this immunity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/319 cont./

792 zaouia, or the same village, already makes a contrast stand out.
794 It is not rare that the local scholar very soon affirms his distrust with regard to agrarian rites. He displays a skepticism whose expression, astonishingly free, would belie the good nature of such a milieu, if we did not know to what extent this milieu lends itself to breaches of tone, to paradoxical proximities. Rural unanimity, rationalist criticism and occultism merge in strange and diverse fashion in the Mussulman affirmation. Certainly, the despoliation of the communal restraints, rebellion are embodied in such an individual, separated from the crowd. But they can be embodied also, more obscurely, in each one. Each may feel the appeal of protestation, of flight, of adventure. And this appeal will meet that of the "luminaries" and of orthodoxy. Hence the complexity of the phenomenon.

000 This progress is likewise that of the variety of minds and of the division of labor. It is often accomplished by the emigrant. It then includes economic traits and may end when these traits are effaced: recovery of the land and return to the mountains, fortune once made. But these stages may be passed spontaneously by such-and-such individual mentality.

What is more common today is the escape of the worker, through the union and the politics of the towns, and the escape of the /320/ military man, through the jovial impiety of the camps.
792 But the scholar, too, "escapes" in his fashion, through the occult
794 powers of writing, the advancement of his culture, the repudiation of the rural imperatives. The role of communal officiant, which is given him by the group, is greatly surpassed by his sallies of an individual more refined than his brothers. This depassment can lead to error. But it can also lead to holiness. In the recent period the Seksawa have known at least one example of these exaltations of the person, or — this is the other face of the phenomenon — of these personal elections of Allah.

159 /The rest of this section, except for the last two paragraphs,
792 is in small type in the original source./ It was only in 1915 that
175 the agurram Moh'ammed b. Abdallah, descendant on the tenth

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh /sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the [175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields. [776] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaouâ came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Âbdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

159 /320 cont./
792 that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it.
789 Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karâmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Âbdallah was endowed with the gift of
787 clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
792 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Ali, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Âbdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

/321 cont./

159 [187] And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and instruction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

• 792 Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2),

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/ [776] both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahim Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâlî b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^{C}î in exchange for his mu^{C}âchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèrement" /becoming brothers/, [776] dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

792 [776] /322 cont./ Sibaᶜī is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Takerkuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nffis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This muᶜāchara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

/323/ A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 [692] Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in which the authority, jemāa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We 691 695

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in
[693] judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece,
[792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi-
[794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/344 cont./

585 675 171 Even more instructive is the indefinite bringing forward of the payment of this amerwas, deemed to correspond to the çadâq. It is known that in fiqh at least a part of the çadâq must be paid in cash. Absolutely not in the Sous. The fact that the payment of the amerwas as regards the totality is to be postponed there until the dissolution of the marriage: 1) clearly dissociates it from the consummation of the marriage, and thus even removes it from its orthodox role of canonical purifier of the sexual act (2);

[792] 2. And nevertheless a "marabout" jurist such as an-Nâçirî, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 14, must consider that the indefinite carrying forward of the integrality of the çadâq (in this case the amerwas) is without inconvenience and does not render the marriage illicit.

Let us recall — without, of course, wishing to establish a comparison — that Moroccan Hebraic law brings these diverse notions together under the name of kitubba. The latter, quite like the Berbère /Berber/ amerwas, is demandable only in case of dissolution of the marriage. The "forfeiture" aspect is moreover more pronounced it it. Cf. on the kitubba, E. Malka, "La constitution du douaire par contrat de mariage /The constitution of the marriage settlement by marriage contract/," Revue marocaine de droit, 1952, pp. 209 sq.

[586]

2) leads one to seek in other traits of Chleuh /Shluh/ marriage the veritable inaugural formalities.

The invariability of the amerwas in one and the same tribe (3)

3. Westermarck has already noted it, Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc /Marriage ceremonies in Morocco/, 1921, pp. 61, 67. He even gives a

/345 cont./

675 autochthonous institution, survivals of which are to be found in
585 the asghurt and where it would as yet be only incompletely dis-
586 solved. The comparison of the institutions only ends in an im-
121 passe there, for we are back to the historical problem of the penetration of the fiqh in this region of Morocco.

779 To the dossier, still quite light, of this discussion, I shall
792 bring only one contribution, but precise and datable: this is a
175 text taken from the Nawâzil of the Cheikh /Sheik/ Mah'ammad
585 ibn Nâçir (d. 1674), master of a great religious brotherhood, and
675 initiator from the Moroccan South. /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The Cheikh married persons who had come to rely on him. He began by questioning two among them, who were of the same tribe, on the amount of the çadâq in their country at the same time as on their matrimonial usage. After many silences, they answered him, "We are of your faith and your flock. Do what you judge good to do." "As for us," said the Cheikh, "our practice is simple. I myself once gave one of my female relatives in marriage without asking for anything more than a dish of couscous for the clerks. Such was in fact the custom of our ancestors. But I have reformed it and abandoned it in order to adhere to the sunna of the Prophet. Our present practice is one of the simplest, be it a matter of the banquet or of the çadâq. I have fixed the latter at three mithqâl-s of money by weight." He then added: "Where is the representative of the husband?" He was pointed out to him. He then requested witnesses, and when they were before him, in the presence of the representative of the woman, he declared: "Praise God. We praise Him and by Him we guide ourselves. Witness that I have married such-and-such a daughter of so-and-so and such-and-such a son of so-and-so, both from such-and-such a country, within the rights and stipulations of the woman, the sunna of the Prophet, and against legitimating çadâq (2)."

2. Mah'ammad b. Nâçir ad-Dar^{c}î, Ajwiba, ms. of the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, p. 40, l. 11 sq.

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/346/ This took place in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is a matter of a pious personage, a holy man and converter. His family is from the Drâ, from which the Saâdians had surged forth in the preceding century in an intense religious and martial fermentation. Let us not take this evidence for anything other than what it is: an isolated trait in the present state of the examinations. But, as such, it does not cease to be disturbing, as much by what it reveals of the practices of the period as by its orthodoxy, still of a bizarre taste.

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But do we not find the trace of former organizations in the Z'init' fair for wives? According to some evidence from the fourteenth century, the saint camped surrounded by two separate groups: the women and the men. It is not impossible that this was an indication of a classificatory rite. Even now the promise exchanged by the fiancés during the exaltation of the feast and the sacrifice near the tomb of Lalla Aziza creates an irremissible obligation. A man from the Gedmiwa who had ventured to escape from it was found a few years ago hung in his room. Trace of former collective functions? The written sources impose a salutary lesson of prudence over this point in the hypothesis.

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/The following three paragraphs are in small print in the original source./ An act of 916 Heg.: 1510, and one which offers some interest by reproducing this hapax that seems to have been, since Ibn Khaldûn, the name of the Genfisa, is a marriage contract, drawn up according to the habitual pomp of the style of the city. It anticipates a çadâq of 200 dinars, an unheard-of sum for the period. To which are added clothes, jewels, slave. The total is taken care of by the father of the husband, along with the production of real guarantees. A naqd is paid. There are stipulated as the responsibility of the husband, a curious thing in testimony emanating from such an ancient and supposedly such a rough milieu, "pleasantness in relations, the instruction of the woman in her religion, and in attention to the good." This text, by the style, the content, and, one might say, the sentiment, is discordant in these remote cantons.

Another act, more recent, and coming from the great family of the upper valley, this haunt of authenticity that the a. D'alh'a

2: Montagne MW11 Shluh MW11

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[For a general history of the maraboutic brotherhoods in Morocco from the beginning of the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century, see category 116, pp. 106-132 and 138-139; historical information on the establishment of the Zaouias (schools or religious centers for the various orders), will be found in category 116, pp. 122-124.]

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562 The Berbère /Berber/ woman, without having in this region the independence that she has kept in central Morocco, nevertheless is not put under the strict tutelage and in the semiservitude that is observed among the Arabized tribes of the plain and is a consequence of complete Islamization. It is not rare to see appear in the history of the southern tribes some energetic mother who protects the goods of her orphan children and sometimes even secretly directs the politics of a canton.

565 IX. The social classes. -- This society, composed of distinct family groups among which the political constitutions try to make the principle of equality prevail, is nevertheless not at all democratic. On the contrary, it includes classes that can, according to the respect that they enjoy, be ordered hierarchically.

565 The most respected is that of the marabouts and shorfa /shurfa/.
•792 These personages are in principle the descendants of the saints, celebrated for their virtues or their learning, and those of the members of the Prophet's family. As a matter of fact, most of the families that can refer to Arab ancestors claim a sherifian origin, such as the Oulad ben Seba^{c}, who are only Ma^{c}qil, or again the Ilalen Berbères /Berbers/, whose name, transcribed in the Arabic /45/ form of "Hilala," gives rise to confusion with that of the "Banou Hilal" invaders.

The marabouts, who live grouped around the tomb of a known and respected ancestor, form small separate groups who govern themselves and most often remain removed from the political rivalries of the other Berbère /Berber/ "ikhs." Settled on the best lands, near springs and in the richest valleys, their number reaches, according to the region, one-fifth or one-tenth of the total population, and sometimes they constitute veritable small separate states within the tribes.

565 Then comes the "^{c}amma," which is the bulk of the autochthons, into which all the foreign elements melt little by little. It is divided into confederations, tribes, fractions, and subfractions, whose structure and political evolution we shall study further on.

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556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
• [792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
*[631] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
[619] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
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/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
[778] to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
695 dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
671 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
/Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

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*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

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2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwon, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilelt.

•[792] [795] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Souktana, the great confederation of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan Moulay ᶜAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

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114 *63 *634 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the western Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

*631 *634 VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. — Finally it remains for us, in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the [619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the [178] Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions [621] with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant 175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the *631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi •792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom; they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

*631 [174] /168 cont./ conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 175 [648] [792] [642] At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas, a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

*631 619 [796] [692]

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/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

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XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of
[792] the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one
[578] still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

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In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

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In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

*634 /230 cont./
619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
• [792] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center

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/footnote 1 continued/ paid for by buyers and sellers and maintaining the "tribal treasury." The case is exceptional in tribes living under a democratic constitution.

*[634] In this case the inflas sit permanently in a large shop and judge all the offenses that come to their knowledge. But most often, even when the fractions live by observing republican constitutions, it is a rich and powerful man who alone is capable of imposing respect for the decisions taken with regard to the guilty and of acting without delay against the highway thieves. The existence of the market thus favors the development of personal power, and it is by "commanding over the souq" that a leader best shows his prestige and worth.

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It also happens that the authority of the assemblies of inflas succeeds in being exerted more easily on the souqs by calling on a maraboutic authority. The markets of Lalla ᶜAziza among the Seksawa, of the "Jemaᶜa" of the Aït Daoud near the tomb of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd en Naᶜim among the Haha, are protected not only by the tribes, but also by the local saints, whose "tagat," curse, would strike down profaners pitilessly. In all the South, as moreover in the rest of Morocco, it is also in the vicinity of the most venerated sanctuaries, such as Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, Sidi Mehend Ouchchen of the Haha, Sidi Bihi of the Chtouka, Sidi Yahya ben ᶜAbd en Naᶜim of the Aït Tamment, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, and many others besides that the great fairs of spring or autumn, known by the name of "mouggar" (2),

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2. From the verb "miggir," to meet (Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, dialect of the Ida ou Semlal, Paris, 1920, p. 246). Fair: "anmuggar" (ibid., p. 131).

are held. These annual festivals attract the inhabitants of all the

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443 tribes located at several days' distance. It is understood that in
*634 this case no chief, no meeting of notables can have sufficient
-792 prestige to impose respect on such a crowd divided by the mem-
784 ory of so many quarrels. To order to have peace and security prevail during the holy days of the "mouggar," the fear of the punishments of a saint whose fearsome power is known to all is necessary.

443 In the souqs and the "mouggar," men and women always
562 occupy separate "rahba," different quarters. In certain tribes,
834 where custom watches more carefully to see that the /252/ two
184 sexes preserve a distinct activity in the external life, one finds special markets reserved for women. Doutté observed their existence in the north of the Haha; others are found in the South of that confederation and in the Sous plain among the Chtouka.

The explanation of this institution of markets specially reserved for women is perhaps quite simple. The Berbère /Berber/
[462] woman is in fact exclusively entrusted with the purchase and sale of certain products, wool, henna, fruit, eggs, and one understands that she thus has her particular souqs; it might be, moreover, that this institution may conform to the usual tendency toward the division of the two sexes in the domestic life, which one observes among the Berbères /Berbers/. There is reason to note, however, that in the South of Morocco the women's souqs appear in the most Islamized regions. They are, on the contrary, unknown in the mountains, in the regions where the most ancient traditions have been best preserved. Let us add that certain women's markets are of recent creation, and that to justify their existence people in the tribes invoke the observance of the prescriptions of Islam on the rigorous separation of the sexes in social life (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Doutté, Bulletin de l'Afrique française, supplément économique, 1905, p. 2, and our article, "Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère /Customs and Legends of the Berber Coast/," Hespéris, 1924, 1st quarter, pp. 104-105.

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*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these com-
661 bats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
[616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
•[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
*634 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
578 canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
661 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
726 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ʿAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
*634 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
613 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
682 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
578 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
/274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

*634 554 178 791 /323 cont./ of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that for them the Iron Age has come.

•792 791 554 178 [212] [796] *634 Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be, rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa, who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igezzoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

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"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without [431] private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits [692] the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

[113] 1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi 'Ali, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is [224] [541] that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

175 791 792 554 [224] [541] /324 cont./ great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is, moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away into paradise.

[681] Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these marabouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

[113] 2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

[571] Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

178 792 554 648 Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive. It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many independent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one * [634] of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

*634 178 648 If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost, one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.

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121 171 *631 182 578 648 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legislation of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies, the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

-792 795 *631 [175] [178] /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the existence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

[128] In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we [648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

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792 conciliation into the struggle between the Berbères /Berbers/ and
795 the Makhzen /makhzan/; most often it contributes only toward
*631 maintaining the feelings of resistance of the independent republics
648 up to the day when the Empire's power is great enough to throw back to the boundary of the desert oases these marabouts regarded by the sovereign as men too clever to assemble the forces of the montagnards.

792 Examples are not lacking, either in the course of history or in
795 our time, of these small states in which the supreme authority be-
*631 longs to respected personages, removed from the struggles of soffs
554 and leffs, whose arbitrators they have become. These natural
[778] leaders moreover owe their temporal power to the holiness of their
[788] ancestors; and the venerated tombs of the latter, covered with green tiles, still attract before our eyes, at the time of the great annual fairs, thousands of visitors desirous of participating in the merits of their holiness.

175 We have seen in the history of the Sous the role played in the
792 sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the maraboutic principality
795 of Sidi Yahya among the Haha and especially that of the "agellid"
*631 Sidi ᶜAli bou Dmeia, grandson of the great saint of the Atlas, Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa. The members of that illustrious family tried, as we have said, up to the end of the last century, to revive this little kingdom of the Tazerwalt, which today has entered into a definitive decline (1).

1. Starting from the submission of its chief to the Sultan in 1886.

792 The country of the Jbala and of the Rif, before being unified
795 by the rapid conquest of ᶜAbd el Kerim, then becoming subject to
*631 Spain, has /408/ recently known the power of the sherif Raisouli,
171 master of the tribes that surround the sacred summit of the Jbel ᶜAlam; the sherif ᶜAbd er Rahman Derqawi, whose faithful servants were the Beni Zerwal, lived not far away at the same time; finally the Khemalcha marabouts had become the spiritual and temporal leaders of the Senhaja of Srair, and it is the support that they lent

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to the Riffian chief, from the first hours of the fight against Spain, that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.

In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas, since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans, other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them, they utilized, among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa, the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these maraboutic states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal, the third is led, at the moment that we are writing these lines, by Sidi Mohammed ben Ta'ibi, who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi ᶜAli Amhaouch, both prophet and marabout, who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

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The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families, thanks to their real or alleged nobility, are screened from the fratricidal fights, the vengeances, the violent quarrels of the leffs, which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides, their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority, so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force; the opposite of the temporal chiefs, they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions, they contribute toward maintaining them, and it is to their zaouias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems, which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all, since the voluntary tithes, the presents, and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands, they can

792 795 *631 182 /409 cont./ avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that frequently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger [578] branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 795 *631 648 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias finishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity [178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

/409 cont./

792 795 *631 648 171 792 795 *631 648 submission of distant /410/ tribes. Thus, the weak sultan Moulay Sliman seems to have tried at the beginning of the last century to obtain among the Jbala and in the central Atlas the support of the brotherhood of the Derqawa; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the shorfa and the marabouts of the western Rif are the intermediaries between the Senhaja of Srair and the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the same period in the Sous, Sidi Hosein of the Tazerwalt and Sidi el Hasan of Timgilcht give the sovereign valuable advice for the development of his policy. But most often the religious leaders know they will lose all authority in their country by joining their efforts to those of the Makhzen, and that henceforth the tithes and ziaras they live on will be paid more willingly into the hands of rival marabouts who have known how to show themselves less servile; so for the most part the religious leaders prefer to join their lot with that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics rather than with that of the representatives of the Sultan.

178 792 795 *631 648 Consequently, one could not be surprised that the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the Sous is connected with the constant retreat of the religious influences. We have told about the displacement toward the South of the large maraboutic centers between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries: from the Regraga of the Jbel Hadid, toward Afoughal, to the north of the Haha, then from the Aït Daoud, among the Ida ou Bouzia; finally, at Illigh in the Tazerwalt; in our day the zaouias no longer have any political importance in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in the country of the kaids of Tagontaft and of the Glawa; it is at the boundary of the desert, at Timgilcht near the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, at Wissaden among the Souktana, at Tamegrout on the Dra, in a region where the Sultan's name is no longer pronounced, that the holy personages have taken refuge, the only ones able to keep the sedentary populations of the oases and the turbulent nomads of the Sahara peaceful.

178 792 795 *631 Thus history as well as the study of the tribes who live before our eyes in the various parts of Morocco lead us to regard the natural association of the marabouts and the independent Berbères /Berbers/ as the sign of a still very incomplete state of evolution

/410 cont./

178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

182 /411 cont./
it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
•792 Makhzen /makhzan/.
795 However that may be, the long influence of the religious
*631 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
792 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
178 tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.
*631 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
648 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked
17 in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère
[669] /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
[578] kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;

/412 cont./

*[631] [648] [17] this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which [578] [669] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

•[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law [671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks [693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the [343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re- [712] quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with [652] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are [466] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main- [653] tenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer- [423] tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer- [166] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles